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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts a sociolinguistic analysis of word-borrowing as one evidence of interaction between cultures, with particular reference to English-Japanese interaction. The paper discusses circumstances under which word-borrowing takes place; agents, reasons, and methods relating to word-borrowing; what words are borrowed; and the extent to which borrowed words can be used. The underlying notion is that word-borrowing is not simply a linguistic phenomenon but a cultural behavior which reflects psychological and social aspects of the interacting cultures. (AM)

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF WORD BORROWING

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Introduction

For various reasons different cultures come in contact with each other and interact. The conditions and results of such interaction are often studied and discussed in terms of culture diffusion, acculturation, culture exchange or culture learning. At the abstract level, one culture may be influenced by another culture on such matters as religion, philosophy and political ideology. At the concrete level, things related to food, clothing and shelter may be learned by one culture from another. At both levels, one culture may learn more from another than vice versa, depending upon the conditions under which the two come in contact. In order to determine the directionality, content and amount of culture learning between two given cultures, social scientists look for tangible evidence of the interaction between them. The purpose of this paper is to recognize word-borrowing as one such evidence and discuss its sociolinguistic aspects.

Although the phonological aspect of word-borrowing is often studied (e.g., Josephs, 1970; Schutz, 1970), its socio-cultural aspects have rarely been analyzed systematically. One major reason for this seems to be that not all of what is learned by one culture from another and not all of the process of word-borrowing are reflected in borrowed words. For example, the names of new things and new concepts may be directly borrowed or they may be translated into the language of a borrowing culture. If word-borrowing is a more or less random and unsystematic process as Gleason (1955) stated, then no systematic study may be possible. However, several past studies (e.g., Haugen, 1950; Higa, 1970; Umegaki, 1963) have shown that there are certain tendencies in word-borrowing and borrowed words which seem to indicate the directionality, content and amount of culture learning between two given cultures to a significant extent.

The study of word-borrowing, linguistic or sociolinguistic, has not been popular in the United States, probably because the amount of word-borrowing in modern American English has been relatively small. It may be that American culture has had more to give than receive in its contact with other cultures. Japanese culture, on the other hand, has been learning so much from other cultures that the use of borrowed words in Japanese is conspicuous. Through surveys of what these words and their foreign origins are, inferences are often made as to the nature of Japanese culture vis-a-vis other cultures (e.g., Umegaki, 1963).

Just as the study of the phonological aspect of borrowed words has been fruitful in detecting and testing the phonological rules of the language in which they are used, so may be the sociolinguistic analysis of word-borrowing in studying the nature and process of culture learning. In an attempt to make a systematic sociolinguistic analysis of word-borrowing in any given language, the following questions may be asked: (1) Under what circumstances are words borrowed by one language from another? (2) Who are the borrowers of words? (3) Why are foreign words borrowed? (4) How are they borrowed? (5) What are the words that are borrowed? (6) What is the extent to which borrowed words can be used? The discussion below deals with these questions.

Circumstances Under Which Word-Borrowing Takes Place

In general, no word-borrowing takes place unless two cultures and their languages come in contact with each other somehow. The directionality of word-borrowing is understandably predictable. When word-borrowing takes place, it is not random in the sense that its directionality and amount vary from one language to another often as a function of cultural, economic or military advancement and dominance. Mutual borrowing or non-borrowing takes place when two cultures in contact are equally dominant or not dominant, or when their dominance-subordination relationship is not clearly established (see Diagram 1). This is almost a theoretical case, but the cultural relationship between America and Russia in recent years may be considered as an example in this category. There seems to have been little word-borrowing between these two super-powers of the world since the end of the second world war. If one is more dominant or advanced than the other, the directionality of culture learning and subsequent word-borrowing is not mutual but from the dominant to the subordinate (see Diagram 2). Here we find many examples including the relationship between American culture and Japanese culture. Japanese has borrowed a great number of words from American English but not vice versa.

A third case is where a subordinate culture comes in contact with a dominant culture within the same country or within the same political unit (see Diagram 3). This is a deviation of the second case mentioned above. The contact between American culture and the cultures of various immigrants to America is a good example. Their relationship is the relationship between a main culture and its subcultures. Such languages of the immigrants to America as Japanese, Chinese, Italian, German and Swedish have borrowed words from American English much more heavily than vice versa. As has been shown in the case of Japanese spoken in America (Higa, 1970), the English words that these languages have borrowed in America seem to be different from those that have been borrowed by the same languages in their native countries. This indicates that the third case is also worth analyzing.

A fourth case is a deviation of the third case. When there are a main culture and more than two subcultures within the same country, the subcultures borrow words heavily from the main culture but among the subcultures word-borrowing or non-borrowing is mutual (see Diagram 4). For example, both Chinese and Japanese spoken in the United States use a great number of words borrowed from American English but there is little word-borrowing between the Chinese and the Japanese.

Diagram 1. The directionality of borrowing between two equally dominant or subordinate cultures (D_1 and D_2, or s_1 and s_2).

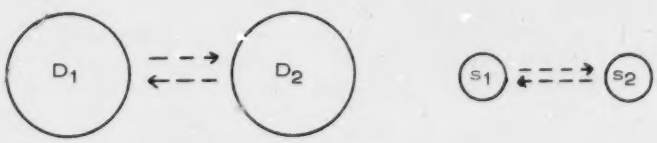


Diagram 2. The directionality of borrowing between a dominant culture (D) and a subordinate culture (s).

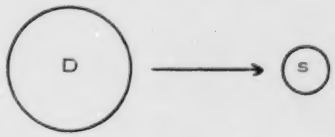


Diagram 3. The directionality of borrowing between a dominant culture (D) and a subordinate culture (s) within the same country.

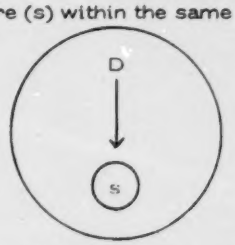
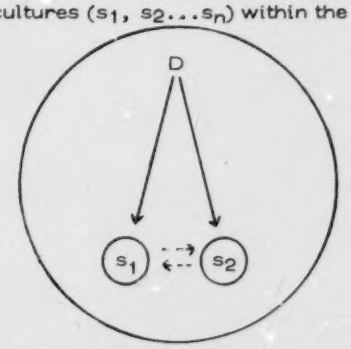


Diagram 4. The directionality of borrowing among a dominant culture (D) and subordinate cultures (s_1, $s_2 \ldots s_n$) within the same country.



There may be more cases or deviations than just these four, but these seem to represent typically the circumstances under which cultures come in contact and word-borrowing takes place. Cultural dominance, which is highly correlated with economic and military dominance, is often defined in terms of achievements in arts, sciences and technology and, thus, the dominance-subordination relationship between two cultures that come in contact with each other can be determined almost immediately. Very roughly speaking, in modern times British, French, German, American and Russian cultures have been dominant and the other cultures of the world have been subordinate to these dominant ones either directly or indirectly. If the term subordination is too sensitive to use in discussing cultural relations, we may rephrase the preceding statement by saying that British, French, German, American and Russian cultures have been influencing the other cultures of the world in modern times. In terms of word-borrowing, English, French, German and Russian have been dominant languages and the other languages have been borrowing words from these. The relative dominance of each of these cultures and languages in a given subordinate culture seems to be reflected in its linguistic borrowing. For example, if one country--the language of that country, to be specific--has borrowed more words from French than from Russian, the obvious inference is that for that country France has been more influential than Russia in its culture learning.

The positive correlation between the amount of culture learning and the amount of linguistic borrowing must still be regarded as a hypothesis rather than a fact. There are two major reasons for this reservation. One, which was mentioned earlier, is that

not all of what is learned by one culture from another is reflected in borrowed words. The other is that there is no methodology available for measuring the amount of learning by one culture from another. It is doubtful that such a methodology will ever be worked out. Unlike economic growth which can be measured in terms of gross national product and military development which can be measured in terms of manpower and weapons, culture learning is difficult to quantify. At present, in order to infer the amount of learning by one culture from another, we refer to qualitative descriptions of the things and concepts that have been learned.

However, if we are ever to discuss any given culture quantitatively, the most readily available and measurable variable seems to be the size of the vocabulary of the language of that culture. Here the assumption is that everything cultural is linguistically coded. Thus, the richer a culture, the richer the vocabulary of its language. A culture whose vocabulary has 100,000 words can be assumed to be richer and more dominant than another culture whose vocabulary has only 10,000 words. By the same token, the growth or development of a given culture in any given year may be measured by counting the number of new words that have been added to its vocabulary in that year. This kind of measurement is certainly too simple, but if it can reasonably accepted as one readily available means of inferring the amount of culture, just like the amount of knowledge, and its growth, then a statistical formula for computing what may be called "gross cultural growth" should be worked out easily.

As mentioned above, although the number of borrowed words cannot be regarded as the absolute or exact amount of learning by one culture from another, it may be considered as a relative index of cultural growth and culture learning in two different ways. For example, if a given culture has increased its vocabulary by 1,000 words in a given year and if 500 of these are foreign loanwords, we may infer that at least 50% of the growth of that culture in that year was due to its contact with foreign cultures. Also, if 70% of these loanwords has been borrowed from American English and the rest from several other languages, the relative dominance of American culture for that culture may easily be inferred. That is, the assumption is that the relative dominance of a given culture vis-a-vis another culture can be determined by the directionality and amount of word-borrowing between the two.

The statistical datas on borrowed words in Japanese provide us with convincing evidence that the above-mentioned assumption is valid. Japan is regarded as the first country in Asia that was industrialized and Westernized. However, until the 19th century the country that had influenced Japan culturally for centuries was China. These cultural contacts seem to be recorded or reflected in the words that Japanese has borrowed from Chinese and Western languages. The following are the datas that were reported by the Japanese National Language Research Institute (1964) that conducted vocabulary surveys of 90 different kinds of Japanese magazines published between 1950 and 1956:

TABLE 1
Proportions of Languages in the Japanese Vocabulary.

Language	% of the Total Vocabulary
Japanese	36.7
Chinese	47.5
Other Languages	9.8
Hybrids	6.0
	100.0%

According to these statistics, close to one half (in types rather than tokens) of the contemporary Japanese vocabulary is of Chinese origin. The Japanese writing system

itself originated in China. The words that are indigenously Japanese constitute only about 37%. By "other languages" are meant mostly European languages and the words borrowed from these amount to almost 10%. The hybrids, which account for 6% of the Japanese vocabulary used in contemporary Japanese magazines, are those Japanese words that are made up of elements from different languages.

Of those words that have been borrowed from "other languages," as the following datas show, about 81% is of English origin. However, since American English and British English are not separately categorized in this survey report, we have no way of knowing from this which of the two has contributed more than the other to the growth of the Japanese vocabulary.

TABLE 2
Proportions of Languages in
Western Loanwords in Japanese

Language	% of the Total Western Loanwords	% of the Total Japanese Vocabulary
English	80.8	7.92
French	5.6	0.55
German	3.3	0.31
Italian	1.5	0.15
Dutch	1.3	0.13
Russian	0.8	0.08
Portuguese	0.7	0.07
Spanish	0.7	0.07
Others	5.3	0.52
	100.0%	9.80%

The percentage figures shown in Table 2 do not represent the actual amount of culture learning, but a review of the history of Japan's contact with the countries and cultures that these languages represent indicates that the figures may be considered as the indexes of relative dominance among these Western cultures vis-a-vis Japanese culture or as the indexes of relative influence of these Western cultures upon Japanese culture. However, there is a "scientific need" to work out a methodology to validate this observation which is still impressionistic.

Unfortunately, since similar datas on Japanese loanwords popularly used in these Western languages are not available, it is not possible to show empirically the directionality of word-borrowing between these languages and Japanese. Randomly available datas, however, indicate that only a few Japanese words like geisha, sake, sukiyaki and harakiri have been borrowed by these languages and the directionality of borrowing is clearly from the West to Japan. If the assumptions and observations presented above are correct, then one may predict that, as Japan keeps increasing its contact with other countries as an industrial power, the number of Japanese loanwords in their languages will increase significantly and that the present lopsided borrowing by Japanese will slow down.

Agents, Motives and Methods of Word-Borrowing

The etymologies of foreign loanwords are usually well described in dictionaries of loanwords, but reports on who the original borrowers were of such loanwords are very scarce. Studies of first borrowers are needed so that at least part of the process of learning between two cultures may be made clear. In general, it is known that those who come in contact with and acquire new knowledge from foreign cultures use foreign words

in an attempt to disseminate their new knowledge. It seems that, unless these people have some kind of leadership or the knowledge of things that they want to introduce have practical relevance to the life of their fellow countrymen, they are not successful in having their loanwords accepted commonly. In the case of Japan, the original borrowers of foreign words seem to have been, and still seem to be, scholars, professionals, artists, journalists and skilled workmen like cooks and tailors.

It is interesting to note that borrowed words introduced by skilled workmen and used in such practical areas as cooking and dressmaking are pronounced in close approximation to their original pronunciations as compared to those introduced by intellectuals. Sometimes the same foreign words are borrowed by these two groups of people with different pronunciations. For instance, such sewing terms as cotton, chalk and machine (=sewing machine) have been borrowed by Japanese dressmakers from English and are pronounced as /katan/, /čako/ and /mišin/, but outside of the dressmaking circle their pronunciations are /koqton/, /čooku/ and /mašiin/. This phenomenon indicates that intellectuals tend to borrow foreign words through the eye, while others borrow through the ear.

There seem to be several reasons for borrowing foreign words. According to Weinreich (1953), one reason is linguistic innovation. When new things or concepts are learned by one culture from another, there arises a linguistic need to name them in its own language. It may innovate new words to name them, or it may directly borrow ready-made foreign words. What words are directly borrowed and what words are not will be discussed later in this paper. Another reason for borrowing is considered to be social prestige. People who want to exhibit their familiarity with foreign cultures, especially so-called prestigeous cultures, tend to use foreign words as proud evidence of such familiarity.

Reasons for word-borrowing vary as circumstances under which people come in contact with foreign cultures vary. Visitors and immigrants to foreign countries tend to use borrowed words in their native languages to show their progress of acculturation. According to this author's survey (Higa, 1970), in immigrant communities like the Japanese community in Hawaii, borrowed words play an important role in creating a new dialect through which the members of the community can identify each other as belonging to the same community. English words are abundantly borrowed in the Japanese spoken in Hawaii, but they are used mostly among the members of the Japanese community. When these members speak to visitors from Japan, they try to speak as much standard Japanese as possible without using borrowed English words. Among themselves, as will be discussed later, they tend to borrow English words even when there are Japanese equivalents and there is no linguistic need to borrow foreign words. Regarding a social need for a dialect, Hertzler (1965, p. 382) made the following statement:

> "Whenever social circumstances lead to the formation of a distinct group within the whole body of society, or of distinct common characteristics and functions for a category of the population, the people involved will tend to, or deliberately devise, speech forms of their own."

In the case of immigrants, their need for a dialect is obviously coupled with their desire to show the progress of their acculturation.

When words are borrowed by one language from another, they are subjected to the phonological rules of the language that borrows. In other words, although these borrowed words may introduce new things and concepts, they do not introduce new sounds to the borrowing language. Thus, such sounds as /v/ and /l/ as in violin that do not exist in the Japanese phonology are changed to /b/ and /r/ and violin is borrowed as as /bayorin/ in Japanese.

This phenomenon is of linguistic interest but what is psycholinguistically interesting is that, when a foreign word is introduced as a possible loanword together with its newly

coined equivalent in the borrowing language, the shorter of the two is usually adopted. When a borrowed word and its translation are of the same syllabic length, the translation is usually adopted. This is a conclusion which this author has reached after examining loanwords in Japanese. An example is the case where people in Japan borrowed the English word computer in preference over its translation denshi keisanki (=electronic computer) but discarded it later when the Japanese term was shortened to densanki. When department store was translated as hyakkaten in Japanese, the Japanese term became popular. However, when the English term was shortened to depaato, it completely replaced the Japanese term. (In the Japanese phonology hyakkaten is a five-syllable word.)

Another interesting observation is that, if foreign words are borrowed without their translations and if they happen to be polysyllabic but frequently used, they tend to be abbreviated or shortened. Thus, such words as department, apartment, puncture (=flat tire) and register (=cash register) are borrowed as depaato, apaato, panku and reji in Japanese. This phenomenon either confirms the psycholinguistic principle that the more frequently a word is used, the shorter it becomes through the process of abbreviation, or indicates that people have little tolerance for polysyllabic loanwords. It will be interesting to watch whether or not such polysyllabic words as sukiyaki, tempura and teriyaki, which are very frequently borrowed by the English-speaking people in Hawaii, will be shortened as the people keep using them.

In many languages borrowed words are not given full-fledged "citizenship" immediately. Certain written devices are applied to them so that they can be visually identified as borrowed words. In English, for example, borrowed words are often italicized or sometimes put in quotation marks. In Japanese one distinct system of writing called katakana is used in writing words borrowed from foreign languages except Chinese from which Japanese characters have come. This practice is official and mandatory in the sense that it is a governmental policy administered by the Ministry of Education. When almost 10% of the popularly used Japanese vocabulary is of Western origin, this practice makes the presence of borrowed words very conspicuous in Japanese writings. It is like reading English sentences 10% of whose words are italicized. This kind of practice may be considered as a kind of linguistic purism or nationalism. Research is needed on the possible psychological effects of this practice especially on children when they begin to learn how to write. They are made conscious through the writing systems of their languages that some or many of the words that they use as part of their "native vocabulary" are borrowed words from foreign languages.

Linguistic purism or nationalism seems to take many different forms. In countries like France and Israel borrowing foreign words is nationally discouraged. It is said that in Israel when a person has a lexical need to name a new concept or thing which he wants to introduce from a foreign country, he is required to go to a national language commission with a request for innovating a word of Hebrew etymology to meet his need. This policy is understandable because Israel is a new nation and is busy building its national identity. Similar policies on word-borrowing seem to have been adopted by other new nations including Indonesia.

Loanwords are like immigrants in many respects and there are analogous relations between the two. Both involve national sentiments in some way and, thus, both may receive governmental control. Both must go through a period of acculturation before they are given full-fledged "citizenship." In case of national emergencies like wars, both may be held in custody. This actually happened in Japan during World War II. As part of the nationalistic movement and the military efforts to "de-Westernize" Japan, the use of Western loanwords was discouraged throughout the nation. When the war ended in 1945, the people regained not only political but also linguistic freedom. What is different between immigrants and loanwords is that in the former case a set of procedures are usually specified regarding how an immigrant may obtain citizenship from the country of his new residence, whereas in the latter case there is no regulation of any kind on when and how a loanword may be "naturalized." For example, in English there is no rule on when and how a loanword may be "de-italicized." Such words as etc. and et al. are

rarely italicized in English nowadays, but words like ibid. and op. cit. still are. An important variable seems to be the frequency of usage. One principle on this matter seems to be that the more frequently a loanword is used, the faster it becomes "naturalized" and, as was discussed earlier, the shorter it becomes.

In the Japanese language those foreign words that were borrowed from Dutch and Portuguese more than a hundred years ago are completely "naturalized" and they are not treated differentially in any way. But those Western words borrowed since Meiji or 1868 are still written in katakana when indigenous words are written in either of the two other writing systems, hirakana or kanji, in accordance with a national policy. Unless a new policy on word-borrowing is adopted, Western loanwords in Japanese have no way of becoming "naturalized" in the writing system.

The above discussion may be applied to the grammatical aspect of loanwords. When a loanword is fully "naturalized," it is pluralized, nominalized or verbalized like an indigenous word. But until then it is treated as a foreign word and is often subjected to the grammatical rules of its original language. English provides good examples. The Japanese loanwords, geisha and yen, in English had not been pluralized until recently. Perhaps because of the increase in the frequency of usage and familiarity, geisha is now pluralized as geishas like focuses, criterias and datas. However, regardless of how many yen one has--one yen or 1,000 yen--, one does not pluralize it as yens as yet. This is true even in Hawaii where things Japanese are very familiar and Japanese loanwords are freely pluralized as in the case of zoris, obis, hibachis, and kimonos.

The examples that have been cited above seem to indicate that we can make comparative studies of the methods and processes of borrowing words and "naturalizing" them in various languages. Then we may be able to correlate the results of such studies to other aspects of the cultures involved. Word-borrowing appears to be a simple linguistic phenomenon on the surface, but in its social and psychological aspects we can find a microcosm of culture.

Words That Are Borrowed

The question of what words people borrow from other languages is worth pursuing, because it can reveal what they learn from other cultures. Once again an illustrative example is drawn from Japanese. As was mentioned earlier, English loanwords constitute a significant portion of the Japanese vocabulary. According to the analysis made by Ichikawa (1928), these loanwords fell into the categories shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3
Categories of English Loanwords In Japanese and Their Proportions.

Category	% of the Total Western Loanwords
sports	15.2
literature, music, art	12.4
food	10.8
machine, technology	8.9
science	8.6
clothing	8.5
school life	4.6
business, finance	4.6
home life, religion	4.1
housing, architecture	3.4
merchant marine	1.3
others	17.6
	100.0%

Further studies are needed to determine whether or not these percentage figures can be accepted as relative indexes of the kinds of things that Japanese have learned from the West, but a look at Japanese life gives the impression that these are acceptable indexes.

It seems that there is a grammatical constraint on word-borrowing, because words of certain parts of speech are more frequently borrowed than others. Of the 5,018 English loanwords in Japanese that Arakawa (1931) studied, 4,606 were nouns. It may be that this is not a result of any grammatical constraint but a reflection of the fact that what is learned from foreign cultures is mostly new things and concepts. The following table is taken from Arakawa's report:

TABLE 4
Parts of Speech of English Loanwords in Japanese and Their Proportions.

Parts of Speech	Number	% of the Total
noun	4,606	91.79
adjective	276	5.50
verb	104	2.07
adverb	22	0.44
preposition	6	0.12
pronoun	2	0.04
conjunction	2	0.04
	5,018	100.00%

Table 4 does not imply that if an English preposition is borrowed, it is used also as a preposition in Japanese. That would be grammatically incompatible, because Japanese is a postpositional language. In many cases words which are not nouns are borrowed as nouns in Japanese and they may later be transformed into other parts of speech by suffixing appropriate parts of speech or case markers. The results of a similar study conducted by the Japanese National Language Research Institute (1964) about three decades later closely approximated those presented above in Table 4.

As Jesperson (1922) noted, words that are borrowed are mostly so-called content words like nouns and adjectives. So-called function words like prepositions and conjunctions are rarely borrowed. Jesperson also stated that no one gives up those words that are "definitely woven into the innermost texture of his language" (p. 212). He cited personal pronouns and numerals as such words. However, as he himself found enough exceptions, this is not a firm principle, especially in the borrowing circumstances shown above in Diagrams 3 and 4. When this author (Higa, 1970) studied the Japanese spoken in Hawaii, he found that English pronouns like me and you and English numerals are very frequently used in it. In addition many English kinship terms and words related to the expression of time are frequently borrowed. In fact, loanwords of these kinds conspicuously characterize the Japanese spoken by Japanese immigrants in Hawaii as a dialect. They are conspicuous because many of them are unnecessarily borrowed in preference over their Japanese equivalents.

Jesperson (1922) tried to explain this kind of unnecessary borrowing as a result of the habit of borrowing words. Weinreich (1953) considered it as an interesting phenomenon and mentioned social prestige as its probable cause. The unnecessary word-borrowing in the Japanese spoken in Hawaii, as compared to the Japanese spoken in Japan, may be explained in terms of motivation. Word-borrowing in Japan is done to meet lexical needs primarily and social-psychological needs secondarily. However, this order of needs is reversed in the Japanese community in Hawaii where the basic needs are, as mentioned earlier, creation of a new dialect of its own for the purpose of establishing a group identity and then demonstration of degrees of acculturation in American culture. These needs are highly

complementary and they can be met by the use of borrowed words. Where social-psychological needs are important, words are often borrowed even unnecessarily.

A question we may raise at this point is: What words are considered as signs of acculturation? As far as the Japanese community in Hawaii is concerned, the answers seem to be clear. Borrowed words related to personal and social relations like pronouns and kinship terms, to the expression of time such as the days of the week, and to the expression of quantity like numerals, seem to be such words. This author is collecting datas from other ethnic communities in Hawaii to test how universal this is. If this aspect of word-borrowing is shown to be true of other immigrant communities, one obvious implication for the teaching of English to new immigrants to Hawaii is to teach them first and thoroughly words of those categories mentioned above. Here are some sample words taken from Hawaiian Japanese: papa, mama, brother, sister, uncle, cousin, brother-in-law, me, you, Mr., Mrs., husband, wife, last yea', one month, Monday, too late, long time, four times, nine, thirty, some, big, too mu h, more, etc. Such words as these that immigrants borrow unnecessarily seem to be good clues to the understanding of the nature and process of their acculturation.

English has borrowed only a few words from Japanese, but they are remarkably well selected to give a thumbnail sketch of Japanese culture. Some of these loanwords are: mikado, tycoon, samurai, harakiri, kamikaze, banzai, geisha, kimono, sake, and sukiyaki. This list of Japanese loanwords indicates that perhaps the best way for the Japanese people to reflect upon their culture is to study what Japanese words have been borrowed by other cultures. The same may be said of other peoples and their cultures. In other words, loanwords can function collectively as a mirror for the culture from whose language they are borrowed.

Extent to Which Words are Borrowed

There has not been research on the extent to which people can tolerate the use of borrowed words per sentence or per page. The current proportion of Western loanwords in the Japanese vocabulary is 10%, as quoted previously. Whether this figure will increase or not is difficult to predict. If a language is given a sufficient amount of time like two thousand years for culture contact, it may replace its vocabulary completely with borrowed words. (Table 1 shows that only about a third of the present Japanese vocabulary is indigenously Japanese.) Historically speaking, Japanese has borrowed a great number of words from other languages and so has English, but speakers of these languages are aware of only those recently borrowed words. It may be that as new words are borrowed, old loanwords are "naturalized" and the proportion of loanwords in the entire vocabulary is always kept under a certain level.

In the case of Hawaiian Japanese, this author's observation is that there is no quantitative or proportional limit on the use of borrowed English words as long as they are related to personal and social relations, time and quantity and the syntax remains Japanese. So, for instance, even the following kind of utterance is acceptable:

> "Me-wa you-no sister-no house-de teevee-o long time mita." (I watched the television in your sister's house for a long time.)

Seven out of the eight words in this sentence are borrowed English words. The case markers are clearly Japanese and they indicate that the syntax is definitely Japanese. One inference drawn from sentences of this kind is that without a restraint imposed by politically instituted linguistic nationalism a person is free to use as many borrowed words as he wishes as long as they are commonly accepted. And, as far as an ordinary citizen is concerned, there is no distinction between an indigenous word and a commonly used loanword. A loanword is only historically and etymologically foreign, but psychologically it is as indigenous as any other word once it is commonly used. It seems that it is the nature of linguistic nationalism that should be investigated rather than the extent of psychological tolerance for the use of loanwords.

Summary

The discussion in this paper centered around the notion that, although word-borrowing appears to be a simple and often random linguistic phenomenon, it is regulated by certain linguistic, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic principles and its social-psychological aspects present academically interesting research topics to those who are interested in the nature and process of culture contact, culture learning, acculturation and linguistic nationalism. This author is convinced, through his past and on-going research on word-borrowing, that word-borrowing is a cultural behavior and its process and results reflect the basic aspects and characteristics of the cultures of both the borrowing and the borrowed.

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